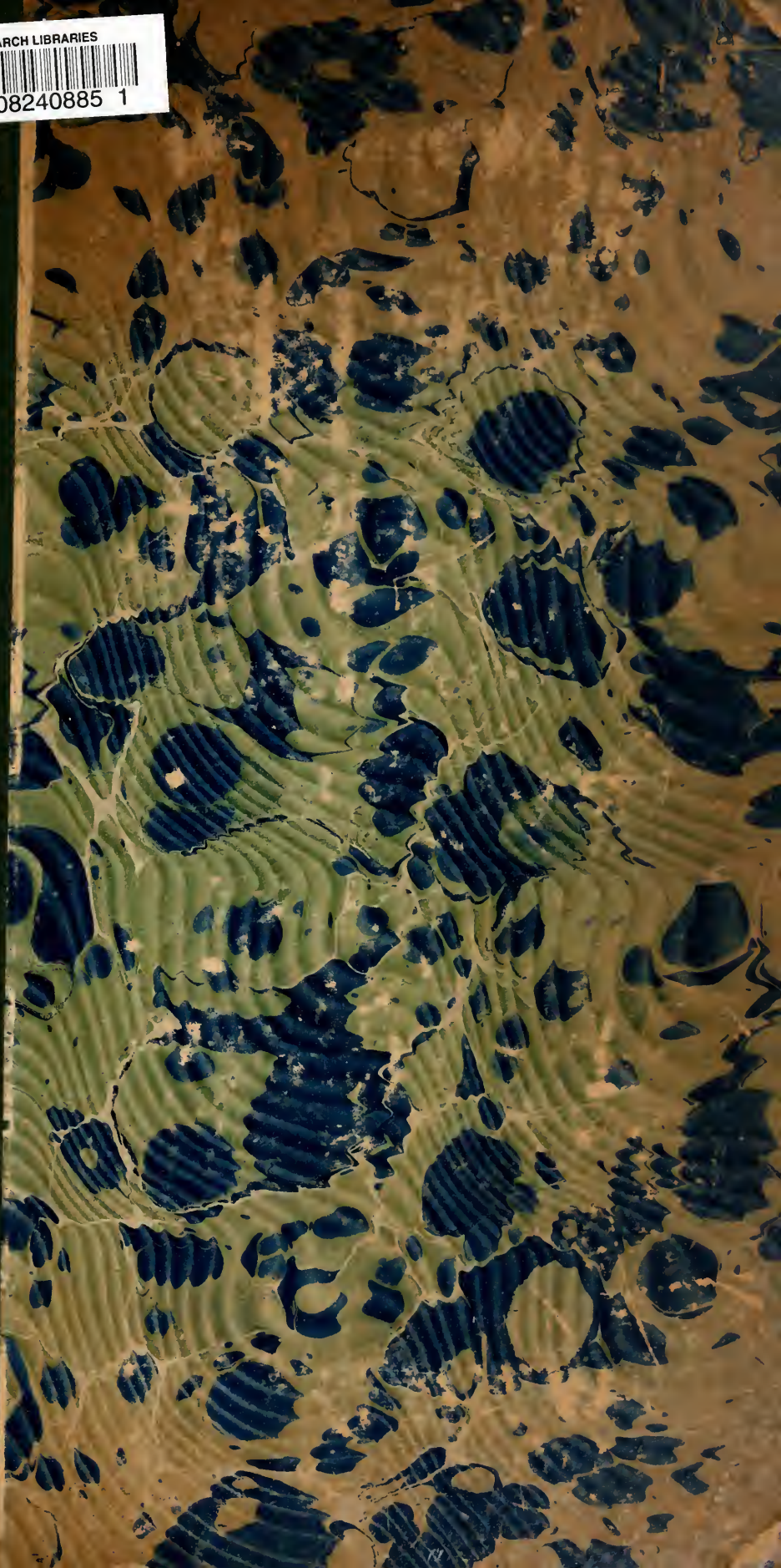


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EULOGY

ON

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLTON,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

Academy Society

OF

Mt. St. Mary's College,

December 20th, 1832.

BY

REV. JOHN McCaffrey, A. M.

Professor of Rhetoric.

Baltimore:

PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM R. LUCAS.

LUCAS AND DEEVER, PRINTERS.

1832.

1893

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TRIBUTE OF RESPECT.

The members of the Academus of Mount Saint Mary's College from the moment they heard of the death of Charles Carroll of Carrolton, felt the obligation imposed on them, of offering some public testimonial of their deep regret at the afflicting event: but, having a public duty to perform on the twenty-second of this month, they thought best to defer coming to any resolutions until after that period. As soon, however, as it was past, the President called a meeting, in which it was unanimously *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to draw up resolutions expressive of the sorrow, with which they received the news of the death of the last signer of the Declaration of Independence. The committee, consisting of Messrs. John L. Taylor, Thomas Pegues, Edward Paca, and Eugene Lynch, presented the following report:

The dispenser of all goodness, in his wisdom has thought fit to call to himself the last of that patriotic band, who with matchless fortitude and untiring perseverance, succeeded in establishing upon solid foundations, the fair fabric of our Independence. Charles Carroll of Carrolton is no more; his bright career is ended; but his disinterested patriotism, and undeviating course of rectitude and usefulness; his profuse charity, his rare public and private virtues, have shed a glory around his memory, which the lapse of ages cannot dispel. In the fulness of his joy, he has lingered among us as some guardian spirit, to watch over and preserve that liberty which he so strenuously assisted in acquiring. He lived to see his country in the full tide of prosperity, steadily rising to higher, and yet higher destinies: and like Simeon of old, he prayed for death, since all was fulfilled, that his patriotic soul could have wished for, even in his most enthusiastic moments. Deeply impressed with such rare merits, and keenly alive to the loss our country has sustained, we beg leave to offer you the following resolutions:

1st. *Resolved*, That the members of the Academus are affected with the liveliest sorrow, for the death of this truly virtuous and patriotic citizen.

2d. *Resolved*, That as a feeble tribute due to his worth, each member of this society wear crape on his left arm for the space of thirty days.

3d. *Resolved*, That one of the members be appointed to pronounce an eulogium on the character of this great and good man.

4th. *Resolved*, That a copy of these proceedings be forwarded to Messrs. Charles and Robert G. Harper, grand-sons of the deceased, as a mark of our sincere condolence with the afflicted family, and of our regard for former students of this College.

The committee having waited on the Rev. John McCaffrey, and requested him to deliver the eulogium, and he having consented to do so, have appointed the 20th of December next, for that purpose.

JOHN L. TAYLOR,
THOMAS E. B. PEGUES,
EDWARD PACA,
EUGENE H. LYNCH.

Published by order of the Society, }
November 27th, 1832. }

Mt. St. Mary's College, Dec. 21st, 1832.

DEAR SIR,

The Academus of Mt. St. Mary's College, fully sensible of the honor reflected upon it by your able and eloquent eulogium on the illustrious Carroll, tenders to you through us its grateful acknowledgments, and respectfully solicits a copy for publication.

With every sentiment of esteem and regard,

We remain yours,

NICHOLAS H. MAGUIRE, }
JOHN MATHIAS, } *Committee.*
JOHN D. WEST.

TO REV. JOHN McCAFFREY.

Mt. St. Mary's College, Dec. 21st, 1832.

GENTLEMEN,

Having pronounced, at the request of the Academus, the eulogium of Charles Carroll of Carrolton, I do not feel myself at liberty to decline a compliance with the wishes of that learned Society respecting its publication. It may be, that some of the topics introduced or alluded to, have only a local interest, and the entire discourse, prepared amid the many distractions of my daily occupations, is undoubtedly very far from doing justice to its noble theme. A copy is herewith presented to you, subject to whatever disposal your respectable association may choose to make it.

Accept, gentlemen, for yourselves individually, and for the Academus at large, my assurances of unfeigned esteem and consideration.

JOHN McCAFFREY.

To

NICHOLAS H. MAGUIRE, }
JOHN MATHIAS, } *Committee.*
JOHN D. WEST.

ORATION.

GENTLEMEN OF THE ACADEMUS,

It would perhaps have been more prudent, to have sought in the pressure of professional duties, a reason for declining the honour, which your partiality has assigned to me, than to plead it as an apology for the very imperfect manner, in which I must fulfill your intentions. Sensible as I am of the peculiar interest of this scene, and much as I could wish that my subject were in the hands of some one more capable and more conversant with the great political questions interwoven with it; still I cannot view it otherwise than as a happiness to have to address such an audience on such a theme. I am sure, gentlemen, that I have not mistaken the object of your invitation to me to appear before you on this occasion. Repeat to us,—it is thus I have interpreted your request,—repeat to us the story of the merits and virtues of the illustrious Carroll of Carrolton. Familiar as it may be to our minds, we will listen with delight to the lessons of exalted patriotism, and pure morality,

with which it is pregnant: we will treasure them up in our hearts, and now in the days of our youth, fix our ardent gaze on the bright example of his career, that in our maturer years, it may guide our steps in the path of usefulness, rectitude and honour. It is with these views of the task you have committed to me that I approach my subject. I recognize the moral beauty of the sentiment which has dictated the tribute of this day, and such is my conviction of the important instructions it might be made to convey, that I entreat you to listen not only with patriotic, but even with religious feelings; and I would humbly implore the Almighty disposer of events, and ruler of the destinies of nations, to permit the spirits of Carroll and of the great and good men, who like him have been the fathers of their country, and the authors under heaven, of the political blessings we now enjoy, to auspicate this scene by their presence or influence, and hallow our feelings that they may be consonant with the solemnity of the occasion.

It has pleased a gracious Providence, whose wisdom is infinite, that of all those who signed their names to the declaration of our national independence, Charles Carroll should have lingered the latest among us. The fiftieth anniversary of the day on which it was

solemnly promulgated to the world, "that these United States are, and of right ought to be free and independent," dawned upon our rejoicing land, and found three members of that patriot body still surviving; when, by a wonderful coincidence, the author of that imperishable document, and one of its ablest supporters on the floor of Congress, retired together from the scene of their earthly labours. We wept not at their departure; for like ripe and mellow fruit, they had fallen in due season to the ground, and the consummation of their lives could not, in any human point of view, have been more opportune or glorious. But the affections of all were thus concentrated on the solitary survivor. During the six years which have since intervened, he has stood among us, the only relic of that heroic band who pledged their lives, fortunes, and sacred honours, in the cause of our freedom and redeemed their pledge. The worthy representative of them all, he exhibited to us the embodied spirit of a revolution, which originated in the assertion of clear and definite rights, and which shines without a rival in the annals of the world---unmixed with views of ambition, not disfigured by excess, not sullied by crime, not defeated by artifice or treachery, crowned with complete success, and consummated in peace, union and

prosperity. Carroll remained alone : yet fancy loved to gather around him the deathless spirits of his illustrious compeers ; and he that looked upon the venerable patriarch, could easily people the scene on which he moved with the Washingtons and Hancocks of that proud era, or call up the image of Stone, Chase, and Paca, advancing together with him to record the vote of Maryland on the scroll of independence and glory. Alas ! that those bright visions have passed away forever ! But no ! the members of that Congress, the most august political assembly the world has ever seen, still live in the good they have done and the consequences which flow from their actions : they live in the grateful recollection of America, in the admiration of mankind. Yet the last of these ; the hoary sage, who so recently could "read his history in a nation's eyes," was, at the outset of his career an alien on his native soil. Let us follow him in his progress through those instructive scenes, by his part in which he became identified with the glory, and contributed to the happiness of our country.

The grand father of Charles Carroll of Carrolton, migrated to the forests of America in order that he might enjoy in the Catholic colony of Maryland, the unmolested exercise of that religion, which English tyranny has for

centuries proscribed and attempted, but in vain, to crush in his native Ireland. It was Maryland, gentlemen, and I am proud as a Marylander to mention it, which set the modern world the first example of religious toleration. But when Cromwell, and afterwards the Prince of Orange, grasped the sceptre of Great Britain and her dependencies, the evil genius of persecution, which had before driven the Puritans to the rock of Plymouth, the Quakers to Pennsylvania, and Lord Baltimore with his followers to the shores of the Chesapeake, reared even here its banner, stained with blood and blackened with ingratitude; and the men, who, when they had the power in their own hands, gave a refuge to the persecuted of every sect, were now disfranchised and deprived of the free enjoyment of that religion, whose pure spirit, the spirit of universal charity, they had so generously displayed to others. Thus, Charles Carroll, at the very time that he was sent by the people in their sovereign capacity to vote for independence, could not, by law, have held a seat in any one of the Colonial legislatures. But this is only one of the striking differences between the aspect of our country, as it was before the revolution, and as it now is,—differences so startling, that at times the enthusiastic observer might be tempted to fancy himself in some region of

romance, where changes and improvements pass before his view with the rapidity of enchantment. The very ground on which we now stand, surrounded by such ample means of literary and scientific pursuit, and all westward; in a word, the whole of this vast, populous and flourishing empire, with the exception of a narrow stripe of sea coast and some few spots, almost imperceptible, was then occupied by untutored savages, or the wild beasts, which they chased—and perfectly untrodden by the foot of civilization. Can we think of this astonishing change without resolving to cherish and support the institutions under which they have been wrought, and without glowing hearts for our public benefactors, the men who laid their strong foundations, and those, who, collecting the scattered elements of political wisdom, built up the stately edifice under which we repose in security and honor?

Born at Annapolis in 1737, while North America presented the picture, at which we have just glanced, the subject of our remarks, was sent at the early age of eight years to receive in Europe, such an education as the wealth and respectability of his family seemed to require, and the enlightened and liberal minds of his parents judged of paramount importance. From the College at St. Omers he

was soon transferred to Rheims, and thence to that of Lous le Grand, at Paris; and thus finished his humanities in the same institution, which subsequently became the Alma Mater of the venerable founder of our own Mount St. Mary's—his friend in after life, to whose direction here, and at St. Joseph's, he saw with so much pleasure, the early education of six of his grand children confided. It would, no doubt, be interesting to us, to trace the future patriot and sage through his course of collegiate studies, and notice the gradual unfolding of the early germs of virtue, and of those powers of mind and qualities of heart, which in the hour of oppression and danger, were all to be thrown into the scale of his country. But neither time nor the materials for so doing, are at my command. What we do know is, that the discipline of the learned institution, in which he was then matriculated, has been the model of that, in the bosom of which, we are now paying honor to his memory. Firm, yet mild and paternal; strict and inflexible on every point relating to morality, and the respect essentially due to religion; preserving youth from vice, by repelling afar its chief incentives and occasions; cherishing at that vernal season of life, the blossoms and buds of innocence; so that neither summer heats nor autumnal blasts may destroy the

fruits of virtue—It must have had a happy influence, and to it we may fairly ascribe much of what was peculiarly estimable, and most truly great in his character. Nor did he waste in idleness or frivolous pursuits his golden opportunities for storing his mind with rich and varied knowledge. He did not merely skim over the surface of the classics, but came away thoroughly imbued with their spirit, fraught with their important lessons, and covered with the spoils of successful invasion into the very heart of their dominions. If that time honored system of education which has given the world its brightest ornaments, could be destined ever to fall into complete discredit, it would not be owing to such examples of its influence as the one now before us; but to the silly pretensions or querulous disappointment of sciolists; the mere swallows of learning; who have never mastered perfectly the difficulties of the grammar school. The vulgar prejudice against book taught men would have applied with sweeping force to the fathers of our independence. It would have proscribed the authors of those immortal state papers which won the splendid eulogy of Chatham, enlisted in their cause the sympathies of Europe, and extorted the admiration even of their enemies. Yes, except a very few, most of whom are known to

have regretted the disadvantage, they had caught the lessons of political wisdom from the historians, philosophers and statesmen of Greece and Rome. The pleasing instruction of Xenophon, and the masterly narrative of Thucydides; Livy's eloquent and pictured page, and the rapid and bold sketches of the philosophic Tacitus, had taught them to take both comprehensive and practical views of government. Yes, Carroll had enjoyed those visions, which it is given only to the diligent student of classical antiquity so to realize that the great patriot of former days shall rise up animated, living before them—a Demosthenes hurling his thunderbolts at each usurpation of the Macedonian king, or an indignant Cicero standing alone on the ruins of a fallen republic, formidable to tyrants in the middle of their armies.

His attention was next directed to law—that noble profession, which, when studied and exercised in its proper spirit, is so well adapted to enlarge the soul, invigorate and sharpen the faculties of the mind, and often to give the fullest play to the benevolent feelings of the heart. We accordingly find him in his twentieth year in London, engaged with ardour in this pursuit, which with few intermissions he continued until 1764, when he returned, to his native province in the 27th

year of his age. Thus was the heir to a princely fortune, which seemed to exempt him from the necessity of any exertion even in the most liberal profession, kept by the wise counsels of his parents and of his own clear-sighted mind, in continual application to laborious studies, long after he had passed his majority. Thus was he prepared not merely to espouse the just cause of his country, when it was attacked with a power which seemed irresistible; but to come forward as a leader in the defence, and give an impulse to the minds and energies of others.

He found the whole thirteen colonies in a ferment. They had been established under charters from the king, and always held themselves subject to the crown, saving their liberties as Englishmen and freemen. In several of these charters the exclusive right of taxing themselves in their own general assemblies was expressly recognized: its exercise in all the provinces had been constant and undisputed. While the British parliament confined itself to the regulation of their external trade, they submitted to its decisions, considering it as the instrument of the king to whom they owed allegiance: but when it set up the novel claim of omnipotence to bind the colonies, in all cases whatsoever, they refused to admit a proposition destructive of their

chartered rights, and implying absolute subjection on their part, to the decrees of a body in which they were not represented. Nor was this discovery of parliamentary omnipotence much commended by the consideration, that its first exercise would be to replenish the exhausted treasury of England at their expense. The attempt to use it was however made; and the stamp act was passed, resisted, and repealed. Then came the act laying duties on teas and various other articles, which the colonists opposed, as they had done in the previous case, by an appeal to the selfish feelings of their step-mother—the non-importation agreement, until all the imposts were withdrawn except a nominal one on tea, retained by the government with a stubborn determination to enforce the contested principle. Thus were our fore-fathers dragged against their will into that contest, from which they came forth covered with victory, glory, and independence. I trust that I am not tiring you by this imperfect endeavor to refresh your recollections of the origin and principle of that great struggle. At these you must look, if you wish to form a correct estimate of the men of that day, and discern the true foundations on which the splendid fabric of their fame is reared. There should be no misconceptions, no vague

and loose notions on this head. The name of revolutionists is not the pillar of their glory. Cataline was a revolutionist: Cromwell was a revolutionist: Cæsar overturned the government of Rome. It was not an undistinguishing hatred of the sceptre, nor indiscriminate opposition to all established authority. If so, they must yield the plan to the Murats, and Dantons and Robespierres, of revolutionary France. No, the foundation of their fame is this: their cause was a just one: they never stepped beyond the line of right: they demanded nothing, which had not been previously recognised as their own: they beat their adversaries on the field of argument first, and when every hope of justice was extinguished, and the blood of their brethren shed wantonly in the violation of no law, cried to heaven for vengeance; then and not till then, they invoked the God of battles and rushed into the field of arms, renouncing allegiance to any other sovereign than to him.

Can we wonder that Charles Carroll, at his return home in the vigor of manhood, was drawn into the vortex of this controversy? It is true, that he had no political rights to lose. It is true, on the other hand, that he had at stake the wealthiest estate in the Province, and belonged to a family, which had been high in trust and favor with the local govern-

ment. But he was too clear sighted, not to discover the right; too liberal, not to be attracted powerfully towards it; too resolute to shrink from its assertion; too magnanimous and patriotic to desert his country at her greatest need. In point of fortune, a patrician, by the operation of prejudice and of the law, an alien—he still felt with the people, because their principles were his; and feeling with them, it was not for him to remain an idle spectator of the contest. An occasion soon arose for the exertion of his abilities and the display of his legal and literary attainments. The legislature of Maryland having failed to provide for the compensation of the provincial officers, the governor undertook to regulate their fees by proclamation. The thing was unprecedented: it was in principle analogous to the obnoxious stamp act: and yet one of the most talented and powerful opponents of that impost stood forward in defence of the governor's prerogative. Daniel Dulaney, then Secretary of the colony, in a printed dialogue between two citizens, had managed the argument so as to give a decided victory to the second, the representative of his own opinions. Mr. Carroll entered into the arena, assumed the side and signature of the First Citizen, and published in several essays a reply distinguished by its cogent reasoning,

sustained excellence of style, exuberance of classical allusion and quotation, and the boldness with which he flung down his gauntlet in the cause of the people. The result was a victory. The elections to the General Assembly, which were held during the controversy, sent a triumphant majority in favor of the principles for which he was contending, and the thanks of his fellow citizens were publicly returned to the First Citizen, through the medium of their delegates. This prompt devotion of the fruits of his liberal education to their service, the independence, firmness, and talent he had evinced, extinguished forever the prejudices which otherwise might have paralyzed his patriotism. Known to the people of Maryland as their friend, surrounded with their confidence, and seeing their hopes turning towards him, and the few, who like him, could embark at once genius, knowledge, fortune and character in their cause; he from that moment, possessed a moral influence, which he ever after used discreetly, but intrepidly, for their benefit and the triumph of justice.

The infatuated ministry of England had resolved that the fate of an empire should turn upon a trivial duty on tea. The colonists determined not to pay a tax laid upon it by a parliament, in which they were not re-

presented, bound themselves neither to import nor use it, and generally took care that it should not even be landed. You know how this was effected at Boston: A scene somewhat analogous was exhibited at Annapolis. A vessel arrived there having some portion of the obnoxious article on board, and the duties in defiance of warning, were paid by a Mr. Stewart, one of the owners. Instantly the townsmen assemble; the alarm is spread; a meeting of the county is summoned, and the affrighted owners and consignees behold a storm excited by their own temerity gathering over their heads, the direction and violence of which they can neither calculate nor avert. They apply to Mr. Carroll for advice and protection. He knew that half way measures would not do; an example, moreover, was necessary to prevent the just will of the people from being frustrated. He therefore proposed the only expedient which, under all the circumstances could have been effectual—no doubt reluctantly, but with his characteristic clearness of perception and firmness of decision. His advice was followed. The brigantine was run aground, with her sails set, and her colours floating in the air; the owners and consignees went on board to superintend the proceeding, and Stewart, for the expiation of his offence and the vindication of the people's

violated rights, in the presence of a vast multitude, with his own hand set fire to his own vessel, with the devoted tea on board. During this eventful period Mr. Carroll was an active and influential member of the Convention of Maryland, and along with Chase, Paca, and other tried patriots, charged with its most important duties. When that Continental Congress, to which we owe our independent and equal station among the nations of the world, was convened at Philadelphia, he attended as a most anxious and interested spectator; and such was the confidence of that body in his talents and integrity, that they associated him, although not a member, with Franklin and Chase in the important embassy to the people of Canada, and at the same time specially requested him to prevail on his distinguished relative, the Rev. John Carroll, to accompany and second them in the objects of their mission. The invitation was accepted and the trust was not misplaced. I cannot, gentlemen, omit this opportunity of paying a brief tribute to the memory of a personage holding such just and powerful claims on our gratitude, as a zealous patriot and the first and brightest ornament of the Catholic episcopacy in these United States. No clergymen before or since has filled so large a space in the public eye. Liberal minded men of every

denomination and profession, the soldier, the statesman and the philosopher acknowledged the varied excellences of his character—his talents and virtues, his learning and philanthropy, his patriotism and piety. Honored with the respect and confidence of our first National Congress, esteemed by all his fellow citizens, cherished as the best of friends by those who knew him, loved with a filial feeling by his own flock, and elevated to the highest trust and dignity in the American Church, he could not have been more greatly distinguished in all that is deservedly prized on earth and rewarded in heaven: And when he was called away in a good old age, to receive the crown of his labors, the heartfelt regret of thousands attested, not only that “a great man had fallen in Israel,” but that a fond and beneficent father was wept by an immense family of orphans.

The difficulties and disasters of the American army, after the fall of the brave Montgomery, rendered the mission to Canada ineffectual. Carroll returned; but it was only to give new proofs of devotion to that cause, in which his whole heart and soul were engaged. Resuming his seat in the Maryland Convention, he lent the entire weight of his influence and persuasion to prevent her from falling in the rear of the sister colonies, at the momen-

tous and decisive crisis approaching. The issue, which he had long anticipated and foretold, had now arrived. The Rubicon had been crossed: the best blood of America was flowing profusely. Washington led her armies, and the notes of deadly conflict came wafted on every gale from the north. To profess continued allegiance to the power against which they were arrayed in mortal strife, would have been to acknowledge the guilt of rebellion. Reasoning had been tried in vain; remonstrance resented as factious and insulting; supplication spurned with contempt—The battle of argument had been fought, and the opponents of our cause defeated on this side of the Atlantic and on the other. Its righteousness had been proved by the splendid eloquence of the profound and prophetic Burke, by the denunciations bursting from the indignant soul of England's Cassandra, the immortal Chatham. There must have been satisfactory evidence to have made that man, whose gigantic genius had raised Great Britain to her proudest height of glory, exclaim: "The Americans have resisted: I rejoice that they have resisted." It is most true that Carroll and his associates were impelled to break the last link of a long cherished connexion, by no selfish views of interest, no ambitious designs of aggrandizement, no

dazzling prospect, even of improving their government, although it was susceptible of vast improvement. Theirs was neither a dark conspiracy, nor a daring and shameless combination for the attainment of guilty ends by unwarrantable means. Their conduct presents the noble spectacle of an assembly of cool and collected patriots, engaged in a perilous and almost desperate contest with tyranny; always determined that they shall be in the right, their oppressors in the wrong; prepared to fight and bleed, if they must, but to fight and bleed for nothing less than indubitable justice and the essential rights of freemen. Such was the last survivor of these conscript fathers of our independence, an exact personification of the Roman poet's sublime conception of the man, whose purpose no power on earth can shake, because it is just, and approved in heaven.

Justum et tenacem propositi virum,

Non civium ardor prava jubentium,

Non vultus instantis tyranni,

Mente quatit solidâ.....

It is necessary to observe, that not all those who signed the declaration, voted upon the question of independence. On the 7th day of June, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, moved—and on the 2nd of July following, after one month of solemn deliberation,

and ten years of previous controversy,—it was “resolved, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them is and ought to be totally dissolved.” Two days later the declaration drawn up by Mr. Jefferson was adopted, and this resolve promulgated to the world. Mr. Carroll was not yet in Congress; but he was actively employed where his services were more useful, in obtaining a similar declaration on the part of the Maryland convention, and instructions authorising the assent of its delegation at Philadelphia. In both instances his zeal was crowned with success. The new instructions were issued in time to anticipate the national vote, and in reward of his exertions he was added to the representation of the province. Thus was he enabled to subscribe his name to that document, which will carry it down with glory to the latest posterity. The generous Hancock, whose bold and conspicuous signature still reminds us of his fearless temper, sat in the chair, with the sword of royal vengeance suspended over his neck. Addressing himself to Mr. Carroll, “will you,” said he, “sign the declaration?” “Most willingly,” was the cheerful reply. “There goes some

millions," said another member, alluding to the great fortune which he thus staked irrevocably on the contest. Why do I dwell on these minute details? because they evince the spirit of the men: because this is the proudest epoch in our national history: because it is delightful, it is elevating to go back to that scene, intermix with the actors in it; catch the flame of their feelings, and participate their glory. From the moment that he entered Congress, Mr. Carroll was always at his post, fearless, energetic, and efficient. He was immediately added to the board of war, evidently one of the most important committees. During the trying period which ensued of doubt and darkness, illumined by occasional beams of success, and by all that is bright in fortitude, and brilliant in heroism, the light of his patriotism burnt with a steady and unquenchable blaze. He was one of those whose confidence in Washington was never weakened, and who denounced indignantly, every attempt to rob him of the trust and affections of his country. He did not vacate his seat until assured of final success, when "our great and good ally," as the gratitude of Congress then distinguished Louis XVI. of France, had sent his fleets and armies to fight in our cause. Such was the high consideration of his fellow-citizens for

his merits and abilities, that he was at the same time a member of the national council, and of the senate of his own state; after the adoption of the federal constitution, was appointed under its provisions to the first senate of the United States; on the expiration of his term of service there, once more was named a senator of Maryland,—and was continually re-elected to this office, until the year 1801,—a space of twenty-five years of uninterrupted devotion to the public good. At that period the federal party, to which he had always been attached, having lost its election in Baltimore, he bade a final adieu to politics. Here then we have gained a breathing place, where we may pause awhile, collect the impressions made on us by all that we have seen, and then mark the orb, which we have watched in its ascent and at its zenith, sinking slowly towards the horizon, until it trembles on its verge, still diffusing far around its mildest and most pleasing radiance.

If there were any traits peculiarly prominent in the character of Charles Carroll of Carrolton, they were clearness of judgment, firmness of purpose, independence and energy in action. Although connected with one of our great political parties, he was never fettered by its trammels: he contended for prin-

ciples and measures, not for men. His country—the happiness of his fellow-citizens; not wealth, place or power, was the star which attracted his devotion. Whatever deference he may have evinced for the sentiments, whatever respect for the persons of his fellow-men, (and no one was more a master of the graceful courtesies of life,) yet base obsequiousness or even indulgent facility was no part of his character. Hence he was not led by the false opinions, much less by the caprices, follies or vicious examples of others. Although systematic, in a high degree, in his plan of domestic life, and careful in the management of his large estates, he never ceased to be beloved by his servants, a theme of admiration for his friends, and the central object of the affections of a numerous and highly respectable circle, enlightening it with the counsels of experience, charming with the reminiscence of age, cheering and being cheered by the sweet interchange of the best sympathies of our nature. Such was the impression left on the minds of all who knew him, where the peculiar genius and disposition of the man are most clearly visible, in the bosom of his own family. To that scene the youth and beauty, the chivalry and wisdom of the land have often repaired, as on a pilgrimage, to gaze on his declining form, to catch the words that

fell from his aged lips, and enkindle the fire of their patriotism at the dying flame of the last of the signers. Such have we known him—the Nestor of our revolution, the father of a free and grateful country, the single object of universal veneration.

Qualis frugifero quercus sublimis in agro
 Exuvias veteres populi sacrataque gestans
 Dona ducum, nec jam validis radicibus hærens;
 * * * * *

At quamvis primo nulet casura sub euro,
 Tob circum silva firmæ se robere tollant,
 Sola tamen colitur.

Time had already strewed its silvery honors on his head, ere he quitted that sphere of public service, which he had so long decorated with his virtues. Yet for thirty years was he spared by heaven to cheer the sight of another generation of freemen. With what a tranquil descent did he glide down the stream of lengthened years!—with what a pleasing lustre did his lamp of intellect continue burning to the last! Fortunate man! he lived to reap honors and blessings in the evening of his days from the children's children of those for whom he spent the morning and meridian of life in beneficent and glorious toils! Happiest of patriots! what splendid visions of national prosperity gladdened the fading lustre of his eye! He lived to see the brilliant pictures of his young imagination converted into

realities more brilliant still—his country free, happy and glorious; her resources unfolded and amplified; her population quadruped; her honor vindicated and sustained; her trophies in war rivalled and illustrated by her triumphs in the field of science and letters; her brow wreathed with laurels; her flag floating in triumph on every sea. He beheld the tide of civilization rolling over the Alleghanies, and across the Mississippi, beating against the foot of the Rocky Mountains, and destined to stop only when it shall have reflected the gorgeous splendours of the sun, as his disk rests on the bosom of the Pacific. He saw (and it was one of his earliest hopes) the angel of freedom striking off the fetters of religion, and leading her from her prison to spread comfort and happiness in all her visitations—the only true charmer of life, with a cure for every wound, and a consolation for every sorrow, enhancing each joy of the heart, enlightening and strengthening the mind, most powerful in those who are weakest, most fearless when every other principle of courage has fled. Happy, thrice happy man! he escaped that curse—the most dreadful which the philosophic poet could invoke on the heads of cruel tyrants.

Virtutem videant, intabescantque relicta.—
No, he did not see the charms of virtue, only

that remorse might embitter all his hours, and and his soul wither away within him at the reflection, that he had lost them all, and lost them forever,—their enjoyment on earth and their everlasting rewards. As honor and patriotism were not with him words of pretty sound and profitable use, so neither were his religion and morality mere subjects of philosophic speculation or common place eulogy; but living, active principles of conduct, influencing him in all his relations, civil, social and domestic,—giving that last glow of heavenly coloring to his character,—that final touch of beauty, which leaves the mind of the beholder nothing to desire. The inhabitants of that city which so long was cheered with the mild evening of his day, can attest how regular and punctual he was in the performance of every act, which distinguishes a practical and pious member of his religion. He could pity the sad mistake of the vicious and irreligious, for his was a philanthropic heart; but neither the scoffs of the one nor the sneers of the other could any more shame or fright him away from the service of his Creator, than a monarch's frowns and threats of vengeance had been able to deter him from embracing the cause of his country. Nor be it said that he blindly acquiesced in the dogmas of an hereditary creed. If any man's faith

was deeply laid in rational conviction, it was that of Charles Carroll. The advantages of his excellent classical and philosophical education, his extensive and acute observations on events and on men, his familiarity with languages and books, and the leisure which an independent fortune permitted him to enjoy, prepared and enabled him to make the study of religion in the fullest, fairest and most satisfactory manner; and I have it on unquestionable authority, that he did at one period in his life, by the advice and with the aid of his illustrious relative, the first Archbishop of Baltimore, make it his chief occupation and delight for three successive years, pursuing in the most regular manner a course of theological investigation. The luminous evidences which had satisfied the minds of a Bacon and a Bossuet, a Leibnitz, Descartes and Newton, were not less conclusive for his,—and new strength was added to his reasons and motives for remaining in communion with the great majority of Christians, and professing the faith of Fenelon and Columbus.

After having contemplated the life, shall we not pause to witness the death of the venerable patriarch of liberty? Conscious that he was leaving none to hate, and millions to bless his memory, having served both his country and his God, he was now quitting the one to re-

ceive his award from the other. But he was not going—Confidently, though humbly do we trust that he was not going, unprepared. Joy brightened, and hope elevated his soul. The glow of holy and enthusiastic devotion which lit up his countenance, was noticed with admiration and reverence by the physicians and others who stood by. How admirable, how instructive are the last moments of the virtuous Christian! Calm and resigned he awaits the angel of death: His waning strength is exhausted; his heart ceases to beat; he sinks into a perpetual slumber! Not so, departed spirit! Then burst upon thy waking view the awful spectacle of a world and a life, that never end. Thither we can follow thee only with our wishes and prayers; but the lesson of thy example shall not be lost upon us.

He taught us how to live, and oh! too high,
The price of knowledge! taught us how to die.

Is there not, my friends, a feeling of patriotic, of moral and religious sublimity—arising from the contemplation of such a character, more elevated and more ennobling far than the admiration into which we are liable to be surprized, by the false lustre of splendid guilt, which too often encircles the names of kings and conquerors? And is it not a happiness for us to have been not only compatriots, but

contemporaneous with one, whose life may teach us how to reconcile obligations which never should be separated, and blend together in one beautiful arch--our duties to ourselves, our families, our country, and our God?

Gentlemen, we are now entering on a new era in the history of our country. The declaration of independence ushered into being a republic dissimilar in many of its aspects to all that had preceded it. The spirit of the signers was breathed into it; their principles infused into all its veins and arteries; the impress of their exalted minds stamped upon its features. Cradled in the storms of the revolution, like the wind-rocked aboriginal of the soil, or rather, like the fabled goddess of wisdom, springing forth at once full grown and covered with celestial panoply, it has hitherto surmounted every obstacle to its high destinies, repelled every foe, and advanced steadily onward in strength, prosperity and happiness. One by one the men who gave it an independent existence and formed and fashioned it for greatness, have been withdrawn, leaving its march to the guidance of others. The last has disappeared from among us, and it is now to be seen, whether their mantles have fallen upon their successors. They however, were but the representatives of the wisdom and patriotism which characterised the Ameri-

cans of that day. However able and faithful they may have been, however exalted their mission, and however nobly they fulfilled it,—be assured that nothing but the sober sense of political rights and obligations, the honesty and public spirit of the great body of the colonists, could have carried to a triumphant conclusion the principles which they proclaimed, the independence which they had the courage to declare. Nothing but these high qualities could have given a tranquil operation to our infant government. On the intelligence then, on the wisdom and incorruptible spirit of the American people, will depend the preservation of our liberty, and the only pillars of that liberty—the institutions which they reared to uphold it. It is peculiarly incumbent on the rising generation and on you, gentlemen of the *Academy*, as a fair and favoured portion of it, to contemplate the great example that has been set us by the virtues of a *Carroll* and his associates: and although this standard of excellence may be high, and although it may be difficult not to fall below it; yet we must, we must exalt our minds and our hearts above the tainted atmosphere of passion, prejudice and interest, local or personal, and strive to equal and even surpass it, if we do not wish to see the brightest star, which has yet appeared on the

horizon of the political world, shooting wildly from its orbit and setting in darkness on a scene of bloodshed, horror and despair. It requires but little sagacity to foresee this result as inevitable, unless the tone of political morality be preserved healthy and vigorous, unless the same inviolable regard for justice and right, and public order still prevail,—the same disinterested love of country and of our whole country, the same spirit of mutual forbearance and concession, which distinguished our patriotic ancestors. Oh, let it not be said in this sense, that the death of Carroll was as opportune, as his life had been honoured and happy! For the sake of America, for the sake of mankind, let not his lot be assimilated to that of the Roman patriot, whose name and virtues—familiar at least to you, have been commemorated by the most eloquent of his countrymen. *Sed ii tamen reipublica casus secuti sunt, ut mihi non erepta L. Crasso vita, sed donata mors esse videatur. Non vidit flagrantem bello Italiam, non ardentem invidia Senatam, non sceleris nefarii principes civitatis reos, non denique in omni genere deformatam eam civitatem, in qua ipse florentissima multum omnibus gloria præstisset.* No, the departed heroes and sages,—the Washingtons and Carrolls of the revolution, disturbed in their silent tombs would

forbid their countrymen, their children to pollute with civil gore the soil which has been hallowed by the noblest struggle for liberty recorded in the history of the world. No, we trust better things: we cannot anticipate such an issue to all their hopes and labours. Their pathway through the heaven of true glory is before you; should your country call for your services, do not, my friends, permit yourselves to be seduced or to wander from it. The life of one of them, in every respect worthy of imitation, has been held up to your view. Contemplate the traits of patriotism, morality and practical virtue beaming in every feature. Remember how Carroll fulfilled his duties to his family, his country and his God, and "go thou and do likewise."

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